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plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

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The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592 342

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342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together [335] by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria [911] japonica, D. Don) or the inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be [352] described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or a thatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the [415] roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the [312] labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

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Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

611 592 Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head.

592 Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This [167] was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation.

592 562 A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

592 The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part [591] of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in [606] the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in

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HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS NOW RESIDING IN HANASHIRO AND MATSUDA
(Classified according to their relationship to the previous head)

Relationship	Hanashiro	Matsuda
First Son	81	61
Second Son	16	41
Third Son	6	16
Fourth Son	2	11
Fifth Son	0	6
Sixth Son	1	1
Seventh Son	0	1
First Daughter	11	29
Second Daughter	1	8
Third Daughter	0	7
Fourth Daughter	0	5
Fifth Daughter	0	0
Sixth Daughter	0	2
Illegitimate Son	0	1
No Data	3	18
Totals:	121	207
Male	106	138
Female	12	51
No Data	3	18

Source: Analysis of village family registers (koseki in Japanese) as of August 1951 for Hanashiro, December 1951 for Matsuda. The figures for Matsuda are incomplete and represent 207 of the 243 households in the village. One volume of the Matsuda family register was lost or not available at this time. Minatogawa data are not available from the new register compiled following the destruction of the old one in the war.

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each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce.

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6.

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace.

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers.

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

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Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (honke in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (bunke in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, main family and branch family, are also used in a narrower sense to distinguish, within an individual family, between the family of the first son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

The extended family has a main house whose head is the living representative in direct succession of the original founder. The seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (Minatogawa-niku), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited area--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

3 Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different.

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Individual Families and Their Branches

614 Up to this point, we have been describing the extended families which are composed of the main and the branch families which have descended from a common ancestor. The discussion may now be carried one step further to describe the individual family and its branches.

592 [594] The individual family is the basic unit of village life. Normally this individual family is the biological family, composed of the parents and the children. But it is surprising how often family units or households are made up of relatives other than the biological family to create many varieties in family composition. The numerous deaths, as a result of the war, have added to this variety.

An attempt has been made in the following table to hint at the variation of family composition in the villages and to show this in further detail according to the number of individuals in a family. This table is a compromise, for with so many combinations, it cannot show the full detail without reproducing the composition of each family in each village.

In this analysis, family units have been broken down into three main groups: (1) those with single heads, usually but not always representing older people, (2) those with male heads, and (3) those with female heads.

The grouping of male heads has been further broken down into seven sub-groups: (1) the husband and wife, (2) the husband, wife, and child or children, (3) families with a husband, wife, children, plus other relatives, (4) families with a husband and wife, no children, but with other relatives, (5) the male head with children only, (6) the male head with children and other relatives, and (7) the male head with other relatives only.

Those family units having female heads were subdivided into three groups (1) the mother with a child or children, (2) the mother with child or children, plus other relatives, and (3) the female head with other relatives.

The general category of other relatives was necessary in order to present the materials in compact form. Other relatives most commonly are younger brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews, or nieces.

The table shows how widely the families vary from the normal biological family. In Hanashiro, only two of the ten units with two in the family are composed of a husband and a wife. Four have female heads with other relatives, meaning generally that women are taking care of

a younger brother or sister, a parent, grandparent, or another relative. 592
In Minatogawa, 13 of the 41 units with three in the family are widows with children only or widows with a child and another relative. Women are frequently heads of families and this incidence ranges from two to nine in the family. This is striking in Minatogawa, where twelve of the 38 units having four members of the household are composed of women and children, or of women and children and other relatives.

The table is not able to show the composition of large families except in general terms. This can be indicated in a different way by two or three actual illustrations of the family composition of larger units. These examples also indirectly illustrate the force of the family system in the care of close and more distant relatives.

(1) A Family of Twelve, Matsuda Village.

The head, a first son, born in Matsuda, 1914
His wife, also born in Matsuda, 1916
Father of the head, born 1894
Mother of the head, born 1892
Younger sister, 6th daughter, born 1934
Younger sister, 7th daughter, born 1937
First son of the head, born 1937
First daughter of the head, born 1939
Second daughter of the head, born 1943
Second son of the head, born 1945
Third son of the head, born 1945
Third daughter of the head, born 1949

(2) A Family of Eleven, Hanashiro Village.

The head, a second son, born in 1895
His wife, born in 1894
Second daughter of the head, born 1923
First son of the head, born 1927
First son's wife, born 1924
Third daughter of the head, born 1933
Grandchildren (children of the first son and his wife):
  First son, born 1945
  Second son, born 1948
Illegitimate first daughter of the first daughter, the latter not in the household.
Illegitimate second daughter of the second daughter.
First son of the second son, the latter not in the household.

(3) A Family of Fourteen, Minatogawa Village.

The head, age 27
His wife, age 25
First son, age 7
First daughter, age 4
Second son, age 2

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 1			2			3		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Single Heads:									
Male	4	10	11						
Female	4	12	12						
Male Heads with:									
Wife only				2	23	19			
Wife and Children Only							8	19	20
Wife, Childr, Other Rels									
Wife and Other Rels								3	1
Child or Children Only				1	1	2			1
Children and Other Rels						2		3	
Other Relatives Only				2	2		9	3	
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only				1	8	8		9	13
Children and Other Rels					1	1	2	4	
Other Relatives Only				4	1	1	1		1

	4			5			6		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	13	20	10	7	13	16	3	10	11
Wife, Childr, Other Rels		1	4	2	8	6	1	9	4
Wife and Other Rels	1	1		1			1		1
Child or Children Only	1			1					
Children and Other Rels	1	1		1	2				
Other Relatives Only	6	3	2	6			1	2	1
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only		9	5		7	8		2	1
Children and Other Rels		3	2		4	1	1	5	
Other Relatives Only	1		1						

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES, con'td.

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY								
	7			8			9		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	3	7	8	4	3	4	1	1	2
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	5	7	4	1	5	3	4	3	6
Wife and Other Rels									
Child or Children Only	1								
Children and Other Rels	2	1		2		1			
Other Relatives Only	1				1				
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only		1	4		1			2	
Children and Other Rels									
Other Relatives only					1				

	10			11			12		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife Only									
Wife and Children only	1								
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	3	1	2	3	3	3	1		3
Wife and other Rels									
Other Relatives Only									
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only									
Children and Other Rels						1			
Other Relatives only									

	13			14		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:						
Wife only						
Wife and Children only						
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	1	1			1	
Wife and other Rels	1					
Other Relatives only						
Children and Other Rels	1					

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SUMMARY

	Total	Single Heads	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads
Hanashiro	120	8	102	10
Hinatogawa	238	22	158	58
Matsuda	207	23	137	47

Note: This and the preceding tables represent: (a) 120 of the 120 households of Hanashiro as of December 31, 1951, (b) 207 of the 213 households of Matsuda, since one volume of the register was not available, and (c) 238 listings from Hinatogawa, while there are only 213 households. As far as could be determined, there are 238 heads of a family (koshu) who are living in 213 households (kosu). There is thus some doubling up, probably among the female heads who are living in the houses of relatives. A house or a residence in the physical sense may thus have one or more heads of houses or families, just as two families might live in the same house anywhere. No attempt therefore has been made to reconcile the differences.

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Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household. [348]

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him. [64] [65] [58]

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will 596 [582] [591]

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the sodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

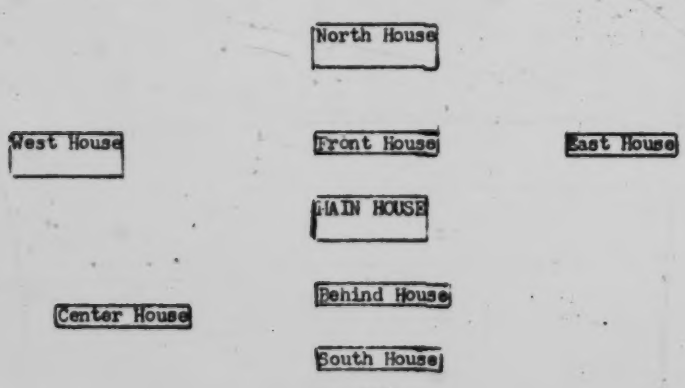
Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 619 613 [193] The household order name given to any single family shows the place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family. Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Minatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

619 613 592 621 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle. Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west: subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
590 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

592 The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
614 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
613 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and Now Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous prefixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), [193] plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, [193] as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

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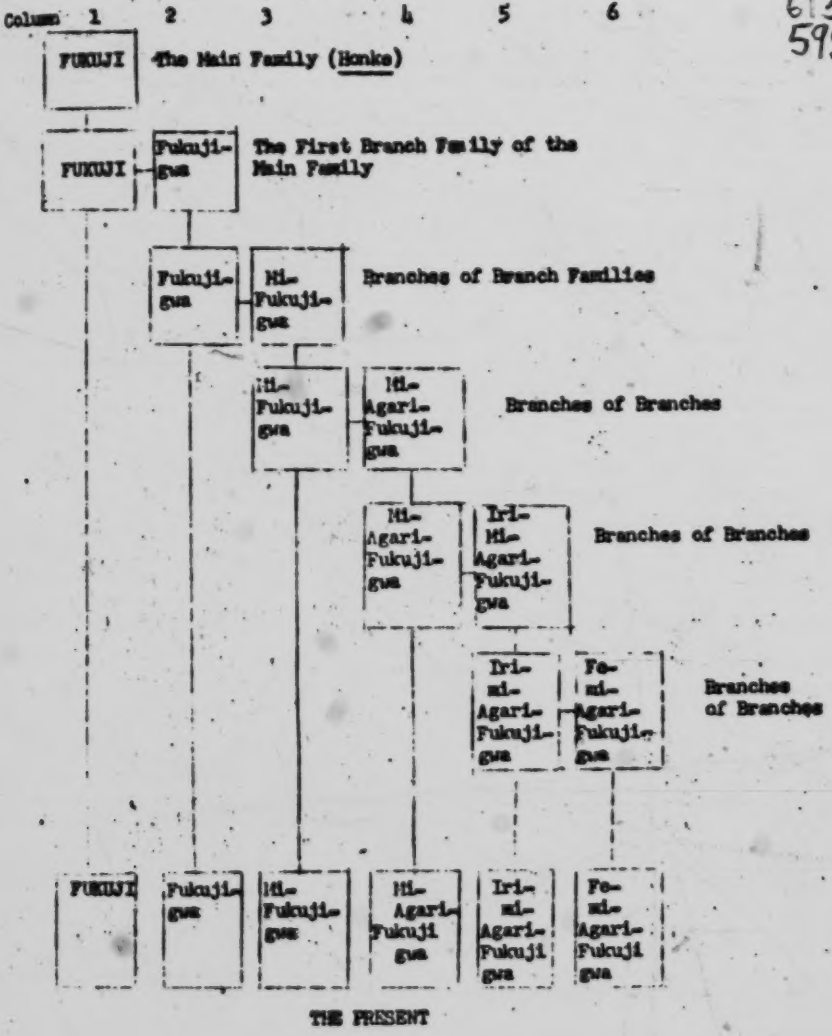
FOUNDING DATE SOMETIME IN THE PAST



1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Minatogawa families:

1 Jinaniritamagusuku. Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Bunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, gusuku being the Okinawan and shiro the Japanese reading of castle.

2 Gonanfugoshi. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is Uehara.

3 Yonanagariakaigwa. Fourth Son Little Eastern Akai, actual surname, Kanashiro.

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4 Ufuyagwa. This illustrates the use of the prefix ufu (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and the suffix, gwa, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is Tamashiro.

5 Jinanufuguchigwa. Second Son of Little Great Ouchi, actual surname, Tamashiro.

6 Inazinegwa, Little Inazine. Actual surname, Inazine.

7 Sannantarunagazinegwa. Third Son of Little Taru Nagazine. Actual full name, Nagazine Tarō, the Japanese equivalent of Nagazine, Taru.

8 Danpachiya. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshiro. The Okinawan word for barber is danpachi.

9 Asato. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, Asato Shinkichi.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is hesso in Japanese, tembusu in Okinawan. If a person had a conspicuously large navel, the house was named after him and became Tesbuya, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was a hereditary household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, Nakama, a surname, might have the prefix kajira (Japanese) or kanja (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and Danpachiya Nakama, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (kuchō in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were Moromizato, add the word kuchō making Kuchōmoromizato, Family of the Head Man Moromizato. These however

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seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Hinatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Hinatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

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Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Hinatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

551 592 184 619 613 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this is true of all the villages, the household order name is still important because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Hatsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

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Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 171 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Hatsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

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428 592 There is a distinction between succeeding to the headship of a house and inheriting property which the head of a house may possess. In the first case, the first son assumes the direction of the family; in the second, he receives property which will enable him to do this. This old distinction is still maintained.

[171] One of the striking differences between post-war Japan and its former province in the Ryukyus is that in the latter inheritance and succession were left untouched, while in Japan a thorough going revision of traditional laws and customs completely altered the system of inheritance and, in effect, abolished the operation of the family system in matters of land tenure and inheritance.[2]

428 In present day Okinawa, property, real or personal, may be passed from father to sons, or daughters, in the absence of sons, in two ways: by personal disposition of the property on his retirement, or by division of the property on the father's death. In either case, the function of inheritance in the culture is to insure, by a system of preferential inheritance in favor of the first son, or his successor, the maintenance of the family house on its site, of the family estate in land, and at the same time, to provide either during the father's lifetime or after his death, sufficient property given before or at marriage, to enable younger sons to establish branch houses. This property given to sons other than the first, includes a house site (yashiki, takuchi) arable dry land (hatak) and the non-arable but highly useful genya land. These dispositions parallel the distinctions between a main family (honke) and its branch family (bunke).

428 592 Parallels Between the Family System and Inheritance of Land

Family System	Inheritance
First son becomes head of the house on death or retirement of the father.	First son inherits the family house site and has preferential status in obtaining other parcels of land.
Second and other sons establish branch households on marriage.	Second and other sons receive from the father, or elder brother, a house site, a paddy field, dry crop land, or genya land, if available

The first son by remaining in the home of his parents keeps at least part of the family estate (saisan) within the main family, with the hope that sufficient lands will be left over to insure the well-being of the branch families that spring from it.

2 For some Japanese reactions to the new system, see The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 211-12.

428 form of fields or of house sites so they may establish branch families.

(3) The inheritance and the division of land cannot be considered abstractly. It is in this area that custom and individual desire have the greatest play. A village farmer does not simply have land. Normally he has a series of scattered land holdings, varying in area, type, and productivity. A farmer does not have a compact area of rice or sweet potato land which can be easily subdivided, but a few small rice plots, [311] of varying grade, some fields for growing sugar cane, sweet potatoes, or vegetables--also of varying grades--and parcels of genya land from which he gets firewood, grass for his thatched roof, or feed for his animals. When speaking of inheritance and division of land, one should think in concrete terms of the various types and grades of land subject to disposition. Under these circumstances, it is meaningless to say that an Okinawan farmer has an average of so many acres of land unless we are prepared also to add its category of productivity or use. The mechanics of land division are therefore directly related to land use and to the fragmentation of land.

(4) There is a tendency to give the second and other sons the scattered holdings and to subdivide these parcels if they are large enough, preserving the land closer to the house site or parcels that adjoin one another for the head of the house.

(5) Generally speaking, the first son does not subdivide a specific parcel of land with his brothers. He will take a whole piece as his own, leaving other parcels to be subdivided among his brothers.

425 (6) Inherited land can be sold, but the customarily approved reasons for doing so are few. This applies with special force to the holdings of the first son. Property can be disposed of without the sale being considered dishonorable when it is associated with a change of occupation involving moving to another place, or with acute economic distress. A man who decides to give up farming and to move his family to the city may sell his land; a man who is physically unable to work his land and has no children of sufficient age to help him may sell his land and set up a village store; a widow with minor children, already in debt, may sell her property. Sellers consult with the members of the extended family who live in the same or in nearby villages and only sell with the consent and advice of these relatives. This is conspicuously true of widows.

542 (7) If the first son dies without issue, he is replaced by the second son who becomes head of a house. If the first son is in a foreign country, the second son at home lives in the house, but this does not endanger the succession rights of the first son abroad. If the first son returns, he succeeds to his house, and the second or other sons living in the house will be obliged to set up a branch family. Occasionally, a second son remains in the main family, even though he cannot succeed to the house; this is during the minority of a deceased older brother's first son who will take over the house when he is of age.

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175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups [571] (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

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The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (senkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

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The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

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Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (zaisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

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The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[627]

The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
[465] local house building. When working on local construction, they are paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
[647] ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons.

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate.

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land.

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century.

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. 623
Education and experience in the outside world are the most important 555
qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are 623
discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered [592] household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, 622
plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and 624
ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are 623
either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands [592]
or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to [681]
attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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592 [727] Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 554 [562] Relationships and status within the household are ordered according to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] amilies it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action.

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together.

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults.

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow.

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 [183] **The Household and the Family** Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in structure, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the [341] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be 353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is [354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out 352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs [354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal occa- 542 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually 562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.) 551 [174]

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'. [565] 177 [614]

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet". 551 177

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are 769 353 592 769 592 [613]

789 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his
• 592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[571] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the [562] tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation. Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [651] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[361] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 166 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

[Kochinda-son]

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics of a population. All of these categories are discussed below.

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified into seven categories. Where possible this was done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category.

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

[Koohinda-son]

first son" is graphically depicted by the third column in Table III. If the 6.5% of the households that contain no women are eliminated, the "average females per household" index rises to 3.25 in this category.

Second Sons There are two possible reasons for the high sex ratio in households headed by second sons. The sons of second sons may tend to marry later than do sons of first sons, because the land they may inherit is generally smaller in area, and they want time to hunt work in the cities. The daughters of second sons marry earlier for the reason that their fathers have less land to contribute to their support past adolescence.

The high sex ratio is still rather hard to understand, however. If we eliminate the twelve cases where the male household head is the only person in that household, the sex ratio becomes 109.0. If we eliminate all households without women, the sex ratio drops to 107.0. This means that there are considerable households where two or more males constitute the only inhabitants. This was true in eleven cases. Even more frequent are the cases where two males and one female constitute the household.

If the same operation, elimination of all-male households, is carried out on the data for households headed by first sons, the sex ratio drops to 93.0. Hence we see that however the figures are interpreted, first sons do have a greater burden and more women to care for.

Grandsons Grandsons of former household heads were household heads in 37 cases. In four of these cases the grandfather was still living but considered himself too old (68, 71, 76, and 89 years) to manage the family's affairs. In sixteen cases the mother of the household head was living. In one case both mother and grandmother were living, and in another both paternal grandparents were living. In only one case was the father of a household head living---and he was adopted husband, or 'yōshi', in another household. In all cases the inheritance has passed directly from the grandfather to grandson.

Other Sons Sons of fourth order and above, adopted sons ('yōshi'), and those whose birth order was not recorded, constitute the heads of 154 households. Fourteen of these are 'yōshi', whose birth orders in their family of orientation were:

First Sons	2
Second Sons	8
Third Sons	2
Fourth Sons	1
Unrecorded	1
Total 'yōshi'	14

[Kochinda-son]

The birth orders of the remaining 140 household heads were:

Fourth Sons	89
Fifth Sons	28
Sixth Sons	8
Seventh Sons	1
Unrecorded	14
Total non-'yōshi'	140

Here can be seen the expectable tendency to put one's second son up for adoption, rather than a first son. Usually a relative, a person at least in the same munchu, will adopt.

Other Types In the 43 cases comprising the category of other types of household head, such as younger brother, and miscellaneous, there were 18 cases of "no relationship stated." There were 16 cases of younger brother, four cases of nephew, three illegitimate sons and two common law sons.[1]

Women A study of the women household heads category is most rewarding. No doubt most of the cases are the result of the war. However, a small percentage of widows and girl orphans would normally comprise this category. Not surprisingly, the sex ratio of 52.1 is the lowest of any category. There were 84 cases of women living alone. In seven of these cases the persons were under 21 years of age as of December 31, 1953.[2] If the 84 cases are eliminated and the data recomputed, the results are as follows:

Table IV

Average Number of Persons per Household	3.93
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	57.3

If the data are recomputed by eliminating the women household heads themselves, the results are as follows:

Table V

Average Number of Persons per Household	2.34
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	95.3

Both Table IV and Table V show a preponderance of women. One explanation is that a widow and her deceased husband's mother often live together.

1 See definitions of "illegitimate" and "common law" on pp. 111-112.

2 Unless otherwise stated, the datum point in this report for all population categories in Kochinda-son is December 31, 1953.

[Koshinda-son]

This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category containing more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers, we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son. In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of 60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly 66.5.

2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight female, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted. Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or 24%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before 1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 59 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	1	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			146

[1] Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

[2] This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

[Kochinda-son]

The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

Table VII

Age	Persons	Age	Persons	Age	Persons
4	3	9	8	15	15
5	4	10	9	16	9
6	-	11	3	17	13
7	2	12	5	18	10
8	2	13	9	19	13
		14	15	20	22

Thirty-two orphans were household heads and legally living alone, although in actuality most of them probably resided in houses of relatives. Five more were orphans, although in each case another person of the same sex lived with them.

Even though only thirteen, or 8.8%, of the 148 minor household heads were female, there was a large excess of women in these households. This is accounted for mainly by the aforementioned 79 households, 53.5% of the total, where the mother of the legal but minor household head is still living. For the category as a whole there is an average of about three persons per household:

Table VIII

Average Persons per household	2.98
Average Men per Household	1.34
Average Women per Household	1.64
Sex Ratio	81.5

In the thirteen households that were headed by minor females, twelve consisted only of women. The other household consisted of a fifteen-year-old girl and her two younger brothers of ten and twelve years of age.

Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1] 163 171

[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released on numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161 217

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [777]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

175 648 177 423 177 423 428 592 [166] [602] [621]

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

175 423 427 [471] [648] [171]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

175 423 651 [311]

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175 727

During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku [34] The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern corner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in [12] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for [592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

[613] Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which constitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages [582] is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 463 241 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming; the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 311 [434] [136] Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields. The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortune may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
● [592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."